

## Late Gothic Painting in the Crown of Aragon and the Hispanic Kingdoms: an Introduction

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On the 9<sup>th</sup> of January 1434, King Alfonso the Magnanimous, from his residence in the Kingdom of Sicily (Italy), then part of the Crown of Aragon, ordered a trustworthy person, the tapestry weaver Guillem d'Uxelles, to Flanders to buy some tapestries "of new inventions".<sup>1</sup> Although this request for something new must be related to the monarch's exquisite taste and inclination for the extravagant, it is clear that the king's preference for the Flemish aesthetic style was behind it. This was a time when the International Gothic Style was still the dominant paradigm in many of the leading artistic centres, so the monarch's desire for innovation is a fact worth special attention.

The Magnanimous was one of the people who showed greatest interest in products from northern areas, especially paintings and tapestries. He was seduced by the work of Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden —of whom owned some works—, and given some artistic commissions, always showed this desire for innovation.<sup>2</sup> That is why, three years earlier, in 1431, he had sent to Flanders Lluís Dalmau, one of the painters who worked for him, where he surely came into contact with the "ars nova", and specifically with such works as the polyptych by the van Eyck brothers in Ghent Cathedral, as the historiography has suggested unanimously. On his return, between 1443 and 1445, Dalmau did his famous Virgin of the *Consellers*, now in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (Barcelona), commissioned by the representatives of the "Casa de la Ciutat" —Barcelona City Council— and destined for the chapel of the council palace.

This work, one of the first to echo the Flemish model in the Iberian Peninsula, illustrates what lies behind the ambiguous term coined by the historiography to define

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<sup>1</sup> Juan Vicente García Marsilla, 'La cort d'Alfons el Magnànim i l'univers artístic de la primera meitat del quatre-cents', *Seu Vella. Anuari d'Història i Cultura*, 3 (2001), pp. 35-36.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, in 1450, he asked some messengers that he sent to Flanders to seek out 'càntares e altres vexels d'argent de stranya fayçó', with which he wanted to decorate the royal hall. The same terms were used six years later when he asked his brother Juan about some fabrics he had ordered, that had to be done "de la més stranya e nova manera que fer puxen". This information is from García, 'La cort d'Alfons el Magnànim', p. 37.

the painting done in the Hispanic kingdoms between the 1440s and the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. We are referring to the epithet “Hispano-Flemish”, a concept that has long been used by the specialists but which has been revised in recent years given the imprecise nature of its semantics. We do not wish to delve deeply into this debate, for which we refer the reader to the arguments of Delphine Cool, and more recently Maxime Deurbergue, about the imprecision that its use represents.<sup>3</sup> In this sense, for the title of this book we preferred to use the option of “tardogótico” —late Gothic—, defended by authors like Joaquín Yarza.<sup>4</sup> Yet, it is not a comfortable label, used as it is in Italy to define painting from the early decades of the Quattrocento, before the blooming of the Renaissance. Other times, the specialists use such expressions as “último gótico” —final Gothic— or “gótico de influencia flamenca” —Gothic with flemish influence. Whatever it is, it is clear that the subject of this volume is the painting produced in what is now Spain under the influence of such painters as Robert Campin, Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden.

The book you have in your hands contains contributions by a series of authors to the strand “Late Gothic painting in the Crown of Aragon and the Hispanic Kingdoms”, in the International Medieval Meeting Lleida held at the University of Lleida (Catalonia, Spain) on the 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> of June 2011, which was coordinated by the editors of this book. That scientific meeting was organised by the “Space, Power and Culture” Medieval Studies Research Group (University of Lleida), led by Flocel Sabaté (University of Lleida). The organisation of the strand was one of the high points of the research project, “The Urban World and Artistic Production in Western Catalonia: Lleida and its Area of Influence (13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries)” (ref. HAR2008-04281, Ministry of Education and Science, head researcher, Francesc Fité). In turn, it was designed as a complementary action to this, and thus received a grant from the Ministry of Science and Innovation (Complementary Actions, HAR2010-11951-E, sub-programme HIST). Finally, this book is the result of another research project, “Expressiveness, feeling and emotion (12<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries) (ref. HAR2016-75028-P, Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness, head researcher, Flocel Sabaté).

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<sup>3</sup> Delphine Cool, ‘La peinture <hispano-flamande>: approche historique et analyse du concept’, *Annales d’Histoire de l’Art et Archéologie de l’Université de Bruxelles*, XX (1998), pp. 83-94; Maxime Deurbergue, *The Visual Liturgy. Altarpiece Painting & Valencian Culture (1442-1519)*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), pp. 37-38.

<sup>4</sup> For example in Joaquín Yarza, ‘El arte de los Países Bajos en la España de los Reyes Católicos’, in *Reyes y mecenas: los Reyes Católicos. Maximiliano I y los inicios de la Casa de Austria en España*, (Toledo: Electa, 1992), p. 134.

The publications available about European painting from the end of the Middle Ages have shown that the phenomenon of the late Gothic painting was an episode of generalised contacts and exchanges, like in earlier sub-periods, such as the International Gothic Style. In the field of painting, artistic forms radiated outwards from the Southern Netherlands, France and the Germanic area to the rest of Europe. These did not always take root equally around the continent, but did consolidate an artistic paradigm that dominated certain regions until 1500, and sometimes even later. This was the setting that the congress was aimed to study and which we now present in this publication.

Among the main targets that we aimed to meet through organising that scientific meeting was to exchange knowledge among Spanish and foreign specialists about the painting produced in the Hispanic kingdoms in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. This internationalisation seemed necessary to us bearing in mind that historically Spanish painting from the late Gothic period has been somewhat neglected by foreign critics. Logically, the process had to lead to an international publication, under the umbrella of a company like Brill to guarantee a wide readership and a new stimulus for foreign researchers interested in the topic. That is why the editors decided to publish this volume in English, to facilitate access for international researchers. Nonetheless, certain chapters are in French because their authors felt more comfortable with this language, while the texts originally written in Spanish have been translated into English.

In spite of the above statements about the little international appeal among foreign specialists, there have been some attracted by this question. Among the pioneers, special mention is due to Chandler Rathfon Post (1881-1959), author of the fourteen-volume *A History of Spanish Painting*, which has become essential for any study undertaken into Gothic painting in the Hispanic realms.<sup>5</sup> Post took over from such other illustrious historians as Émile Bertaux (1869-1917), August L. Mayer (1885-1944) or Gertrud Richert (1885-1965), among others, who had earlier done particular and generalist approaches with very novel methodological orientations.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Chandler R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, 14 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930-1966).

<sup>6</sup> Émile Bertaux, 'Les primitifs espagnols', *La revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XXI (1907), pp. 417-436; XXII (1908), pp. 107-126, 241-262, 339-360; XXIII (1909), pp. 269-279, 341-350; XXIV (1910), pp. 61-76; Émile Bertaux, *Exposición retrospectiva de arte. 1908*, (Saragossa-Paris: Tip. La Editorial, Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, 1910); August L. Mayer, *Geschichte der Spanischen Malerei*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1913); Gertrud Richert, *Mittelalterliche Malerei in Spanien. Katalanische Wand- und Tafelmalereien*, (Tafeln-Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1925).

Despite the results of their research, the study of Hispanic painting in the late Middle Ages did not spread beyond Spanish frontiers to the extent that could have been expected, with honourable exceptions that were focussed on the great masters. This is the case of the works by Friedländer on Michel Sittow and Juan de Flandes (two Flemish artists in Castile),<sup>7</sup> the study by Benjamin Rowland of the Catalan Jaume Huguet,<sup>8</sup> or the research by Hulin de Loo (and others) about Pedro Berruguete that, nevertheless, focused on his controversial Italian period.<sup>9</sup> Years later, certain late Gothic Hispanic artists again drew the attention of foreign researchers. This was the case of Bartolomé Bermejo, who was studied by Judith Berg Sobré and Eric Young.<sup>10</sup> Mention must also be made of Ignace Vandevivere's works on Juan de Flandes,<sup>11</sup> with which we end a list that could be somewhat, but not much, longer.

Fortunately, in recent decades, the historiographic deficit in our Late Gothic painting has gradually been alleviated in international academic environments. However, there is still a long way to go. Works by Hispanic painters, or who were active on Spanish soil, including Lluís Dalmau, Fernando Gallego, the Master of La Seu d'Urgell or Bartolomé Bermejo, have been included in exhibitions dedicated to the Flemish Primitives and the spread of their forms around Europe, like in the one held in Bruges in 2002.<sup>12</sup> Some museums also contain important collections of Spanish Late Gothic painting and organise exhibitions dedicated to an artist or set of works.<sup>13</sup> Then there are those institutions that own some specific works who, given their importance, implement similar projects with multidisciplinary approaches.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Max J. Friedländer, 'Neues über den Meister Michiel und Juan de Flandes', *Der Cicerone*, 21 (1929), pp. 249-254. On Sittow, see also Jazeps Trizna, *Michel Sittow, peintre revalais de l'école brugeoise (1468-1525/1526)*, (Brussels: Centre National de Recherches 'Primitifs Flamands', 1976).

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Rowland, *Jaume Huguet: A Study of Late Gothic Painting in Catalonia*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1932).

<sup>9</sup> Georges Hulin de Loo, *Pedro Berruguete et les portraits d'Urbain*, (Brussels: Lib. Encyclopedique, 1942).

<sup>10</sup> Judith Berg Sobré, 'Bartolomé Bermejo', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1969), that has led to various publications by the same author; Eric Young, *Bartolomé Bermejo. The Great Hispano-Flemish Master*, (London: Elek Books, 1975).

<sup>11</sup> Ignace Vandevivere, *Juan de Flandes*, (Bruges: Crédit Communal, 1985).

<sup>12</sup> Till-Holger Borchert et al., *Le siècle de Van Eyck. Le monde méditerranéen et les primitifs flamands. 1430-1530*, (Ghent-Amsterdam: Ludion, 2002).

<sup>13</sup> Judith Berg Sobré and Lynette M. F. Bosch, *The Artistic Splendor of the Spanish Kingdoms: The Art of Fifteenth-Century Spain*, (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1996); *Fernando Gallego and his Workshop. The Altarpiece from Ciudad Rodrigo. Paintings from the collection of the University of Arizona Museum of Art*, ed. by Amanda W. Dotseth, Barbara C. Anderson and Mark A. Roglán, (Dallas-London: Meadows Museum SMU, Philip Wilson Publishers, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> *Juan de Flandes en het Mirafloresretabel*, (Antwerp: Ludion, 2010).

Although fewer than we would like, there are also foreign specialists who habitually work on Late Gothic Hispanic artists and works and publish valuable syntheses based on their own monographic studies of specific authors or paintings. A case in point is Didier Martens, one of the authors included in this volume, who has focussed his research on the relations between the painting in the Hispanic realms (especially Castile) and in the Southern Netherlands in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>15</sup> The recent monograph by Ronda Kasl on the Late Gothic Style in 15<sup>th</sup> Castile, is also interesting. In it she analyses the so-called “Hispano-Flemish” style with a general account of its monuments or sculptures—and also paintings—and focusing on the relations between this kingdom and Flanders.<sup>16</sup> We must also mention Bart Fransen, who participated in the congress that originated this publication,<sup>17</sup> but it was impossible for him to deliver the written version. He has worked extensively on the relationship between sculpture and painting in the Netherlands and Spain, exploring the impact of Flemish models in the Iberian Peninsula, and studying the importing of painted and sculpted altarpieces from the Low Countries.<sup>18</sup> Also, other foreign authors concentrate on the study of emblematic works created by the brushes of no less famous painters, as is the case of Chiyo Ishikawa and her study of the polyptych of Isabella the Catholic and the painters Juan de Flandes and Michel Sittow.<sup>19</sup>

Among the modern syntheses that opened up new research paths, special mention must be made of a work whose general approach was very novel in its time, as was its methodological focus. This is *Behind the Altar Table: the Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1500*, by Judith Berg Sobré, that approaches the study of the Hispanic altarpieces from the Gothic period from a global viewpoint and going

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<sup>15</sup> Didier Martens, *Peinture flamande et goût ibérique aux XV<sup>ème</sup> et XVI<sup>ème</sup> siècles*, (Brussels: Le Livre Timperman, 2010).

<sup>16</sup> Ronda Kasl, *The Making of Hispano-Flemish Style. Art, Commerce, and Politics in Fifteenth-Century Castile*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).

<sup>17</sup> He presented the paper, ‘Jan van Eyck y la recepción de sus propuestas en la Península Ibérica’.

<sup>18</sup> Bart Fransen, ‘El Tríptico de Zierikzee en Bruselas. Una manifestación de poder de Felipe el Hermoso y Juana de Castilla’, in *El arte en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos. Rutas artísticas a principios de la Edad Moderna*, ed. by Fernando Checa and Bernardo J. García García, (Madrid: Fundación Carlos de Amberes, 2005), pp. 183-206; Bart Fransen, ‘Les copies du Jardin des délices dans les collections royales espagnoles’, in *Jérôme Bosch et son entourage et autres études: colloque XIV pour l’étude de la technologie et du dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture*, ed. by Hélène Verougstraete and Roger Van Schoute, (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2003), pp. 75-80; Bart Fransen, ‘El retablo de Belén en la Iglesia de Santa María de la Asunción de Laredo. Exponente de las innovaciones de la escultura tardogótica de Bruselas en torno a 1440’, *Clavis. Boletín del Museo Diocesano de Santillana del Mar*, 3 (1999), pp. 69-105.

<sup>19</sup> Chiyo Ishikawa, *The Retablo de Isabel la Católica by Juan de Flandes and Michel Sittow*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

beyond the classic study of authorships.<sup>20</sup> Berg, also present in this volume, went in depth into the structural evolution of the altarpieces, the analysis of the documentation as an auxiliary means of knowing about their morphology, and even delved into aspects related to the liturgy, the interaction of the altarpieces with their architectural settings and the rest of the liturgical furnishings. This publication did not only study pictorial works from late Gothic time, although it must be recognised that the latter had a special weight given the author's specialisation in that period.

This line of research has been followed by different Spanish authors in recent years, leading to a legion of partial studies too numerous to detail here. Moreover, renewed syntheses have appeared that have contributed to a certain internationalisation of our altarpieces and offer new insights where liturgy, devotion and interaction with the surroundings take precedence over the classic stylistic analyses. This is the case of the work by Justin E. A. Kroesen,<sup>21</sup> which offers a particular framework for study and is indebted to Judith Berg Sobré's approach. However, Kroesen's study goes much further and can be situated in the "liturgical turn" that medieval art history has taken in recent years.<sup>22</sup> It goes into questions related to the perception that the faithful had of the impressive high Spanish altarpieces, and how they incorporated the religious imaginary and ritual practices. A series of questions that the specialists sometimes ignored are tackled, together with interpretations where the painted altarpieces are understood as part of that whole which is the inside of the church.

Regarding the artistic sub-period that concerns us, it is necessary to mention another recent study, the one by Maxime Deurbergue on Valencian painting between 1442 and 1519.<sup>23</sup> Given the chronological range that the author proposes, the study begins with the death throes of the International Gothic Style and the high point of the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous (1416-1458). It continues into the epoch of such artists as Lluís Dalmau, Bartolomé Bermejo, Jacomart or Joan Reixach, and finish with the consolidation of the Renaissance model with artists like Vicente Macip, Joan de Joanes, Paolo da San Leocadio or the Hernandos. In this case, the author has preferred a

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<sup>20</sup> Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table: the Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350-1500*, (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1989).

<sup>21</sup> Justin E. A. Kroesen, *Staging the Liturgy. The Medieval Altarpiece in the Iberian Peninsula*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> See also *The Altar and Its Environment, 1150-1400*, ed. by Justin E.A. Kroesen and Victor M. Schmidt, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), although it does not cover the chronology that we are interested in here, namely the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>23</sup> Deurbergue, *The Visual Liturgy*, *passim*.

somewhat different development, with a very marked social component, using, for example, the study of the altarpieces and their creators in the setting of the city, without forgetting the purpose of the altarpieces and the response of the congregations. This work, needless to say, is a refreshing change in the historiographic panorama of Valencian painting, where concern for the question of authorship has outweighed the studies that place the work in the context of its production.<sup>24</sup>

But the aim of this introduction is not to emphasise only research carried out by non-Spanish specialists. The studies published in Spain since long ago must, or should, also have contributed to the spread of the Late Gothic Hispanic painting beyond the country's frontiers. In any case, the ignorance that exists outside Spain about the homegrown bibliography is more generalised than is desirable, and at times is even unseemly. How can one explain that some recent publications of international scope omit or ignore the work of many Spanish researchers who have spent years working on certain painters, themes or works? Similarly, it is painful to see how the Hispanic context is overlooked when dealing with certain questions, or how in the habitual comparisons that we art historians make, Spanish paintings are rarely referred to as a parallel for a certain iconography. In this sense, language barriers or the wrongly-attributed localism of Spanish publications cannot be used as an excuse in the age of information, Internet and the globalisation of knowledge.

In recent years, various Spanish researchers have published works that are fundamental not only for our knowledge of late Gothic Hispanic painting, but also about the acceptance and adaptation of the Flemish model in the Iberian Peninsula. This is the case of Joan Molina's study of Late Gothic Catalan painting,<sup>25</sup> where the works of Jaume Huguet and Bartolomé Bermejo are analysed from a viewpoint previously unstudied in Catalonia and Spain. This study shows that it is possible to approach the Catalan painting of the time from outlooks that differ from the traditional, leaving aside the methodological line where cataloguing and authorship were the researcher's only *raison d'être*. Molina approaches the works from a social viewpoint, delving into the mentality of the promoters, whether these were private individuals or civil and religious

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<sup>24</sup> Excepting the study by Miguel Falomir, *Arte en Valencia. 1472-1522*, (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, Consell Valencià de Cultura, 1996), and the one by Matilde Miquel Juan, *Retablos, prestigio y dinero. Talleres y mercado de pintura en la Valencia del gótico internacional*, (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008), although the latter is dedicated to an earlier moment that is outside the immediate scope of our work.

<sup>25</sup> Joan Molina Figueras, *Arte, devoción y poder en la pintura tardogótica catalana*, (Murcia, Universidad de Murcia, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1999).

corporations, and dissecting the ideological and devotional messages that their commissions were intended to transmit. This is a type of long-haul historiography, as the excessive focus of the studies on the stylistic aspect has skewed the research towards the work of art in itself.

Such studies show that Hispanic historiography in medieval art has made great leaps in recent decades, especially the studies centred on the Gothic centuries. Outstanding among these are the works by Joaquín Yarza Luaces who, through his teaching in the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, has forged various generations of disciples who have followed the lines of research opened by this master of masters. One of the key works on Hispanic Late Gothic period is his study of the arts in the times of the Catholic Monarchs.<sup>26</sup> Also, the painting of the late 1400s —especially in Castile— has a specific weight in its scientific production. The scope of these works has been characterised by a wide range going from the purely stylistic, through the iconographic and sociological, and iconological interpretations, to those which study the influence of the Flemish model. Apart from these, we must not omit his studies of Jan van Eyck or Hieronymus Bosch,<sup>27</sup> or those of painters who worked in the Crown of Aragon, such as Jaume Huguet or Pere Nisart.<sup>28</sup> Yarza was one of the contributors to the scientific meeting that originated this book. Unfortunately, he died in 2016, and so we want to dedicate it to him. His introduction with which this book opens is one of the last texts he wrote, and we feel very honoured to include it here.

Other authors have made valuable and lasting contributions to a better understanding of the Hispanic painters from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, shedding valuable light on the painting done in different places in the Iberian Peninsula. First of all, we must quote some exhibitions held in Spain in recent years, such as “El Renacimiento Mediterraneo” (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid), curated by Mauro Natale and focused on artistic exchanges in the Mediterranean context in the second half

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<sup>26</sup> Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Católicos: paisaje artístico de una monarquía*, (Madrid: Nerea, 1993). See also Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Isabel la Católica: promotora artística*, (León: Edilesa, 2005).

<sup>27</sup> Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *El Bosco y la pintura flamenca del siglo XV*, (Madrid: Fundación Amigos del Museo del Prado, 2000); Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *El Jardín de las delicias de El Bosco*, (Madrid: TF-editores, 1998); Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Jan van Eyck*, (Madrid: Historia 16, 1993); Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *Van Eyck*, (Madrid: Arlanza, 2006).

<sup>28</sup> Joaquín Yarza Luaces, ‘Jaume Huguet i el retaule dels sants Abdó i Senén’, *Terme*, 9 (1994), pp. 26-37; Joaquín Yarza Luaces, ‘Pere Nisart, un pintor del Sud de França a Mallorca’, in *Mallorca Gòtica* (Barcelona: Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, 1998, pp. 45-50).



of the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>29</sup> and “La clave flamenca de los pintores primitivos valencianos” (Museo de Bellas Artes de Valencia) curated by Fernando Benito and José Gómez Frechina, that explored the Flemish influence in Valencia in those years.<sup>30</sup> The monographic exhibition dedicated to Bartolomé Bermejo in Barcelona and Bilbao in 2003 (Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya and Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao), curated by Francesc Ruiz Quesada and Ana Galilea Antón, was also very important. It put Bermejo’s work into context in all the regions of the Crown of Aragon where he worked (Valencia, Aragon and Catalonia), and without neglecting other environments, such as Castilian.<sup>31</sup> A final exhibition we should mention is “Aragón y Flandes: Historia de un encuentro” (Universidad de Zaragoza, 2015), curated by María del Carmen Lacarra and Juan Carlos Lozano López, although less ambitious and without the results than the others mentioned above.<sup>32</sup>

Without being exhaustive, the studies by Pilar Silva Maroto about the Late Gothic in Castile stand out. They reached a first culmination in her monographic study of the painting in Burgos and Palencia,<sup>33</sup> and that she has later topped off with important works on three great masters, namely Pedro Berruguete, Juan de Flandes and Fernando Gallego.<sup>34</sup> The appearance of these publications has coincided with the holding of exhibitions and some congresses dedicated to these painters.<sup>35</sup> In this

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<sup>29</sup> *El Renacimiento Mediterráneo. Viajes de artistas e itinerarios de obras entre Italia, Francia y España en el siglo XV*, ed. by Mauro Natale, (Madrid: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2001).

<sup>30</sup> *La Clave Flamenca en los Primitivos Valencianos*, ed. by Fernando Benito Doménech and José Gómez Frechina, (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2001).

<sup>31</sup> *La pintura gòtica hispanoflamenca. Bartolomé Bermejo i la seva època*, dir. by Francesc Ruiz Quesada and Ana Galilea Antón, (Barcelona-Bilbao: Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2003).

<sup>32</sup> *Aragón y Flandes. Un encuentro artístico (siglos XV-XVII)*, (Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2015).

<sup>33</sup> Pilar Silva Maroto, *Pintura hispanoflamenca castellana: Burgos y Palencia. Obras en tabla y sarga*, 3 vols. (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León. Consejería de Cultura y Bienestar Social, 1990). Her study of the Late Gothic painting in Toledo also stands out. See Pilar Silva Maroto, ‘Pintura hispanoflamenca castellana: de Toledo a Guadalajara: el foco toledano’, in *La pintura gòtica durante el siglo XV en tierras de Aragón y en otros reinos peninsulares*, ed. by María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, (Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2007), pp. 299-334; Pilar Silva Maroto, ‘Las relaciones artísticas entre Flandes y Castilla en el s. XV’, in *Aragón y Flandes. Un encuentro artístico (siglos XV-XVII)*, (Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2015), pp. 67-76.

<sup>34</sup> Pilar Silva Maroto, *Pedro Berruguete*, (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 2001); Pilar Silva Maroto, *Fernando Gallego*, (Salamanca: Caja Duero, 2004); Pilar Silva Maroto, *Juan de Flandes*, (Salamanca: Caja Duero, 2006).

<sup>35</sup> *Actas del Simposium Internacional Pedro Berruguete y su entorno*, (Palencia: Diputación de Palencia, 2004); *Fernando Gallego: c. 1440-1507*, (Salamanca: Caja Duero, 2004); *Sumas y restas de las tablas de Arceñillas. Fernando Gallego y el antiguo retablo mayor de la catedral de Zamora*, (Zamora: Museo de Zamora, 2007. On Gallego, see also Francisco Sanz Fernández, *Fernando Gallego y su taller en el altar mayor de Santa María la Mayor de Trujillo (Cáceres) ca. 1490*, (Badajoz: Palacio de Barrantes Cervantes, 2014).

volume, Silva presents a summary of research in recent years into painting in the Castilian field and, among other relevant novelties, she presents a new work by Juan de Flandes. In turn, she highlights a striking contrast with what we see in the studies dedicated to the Crown of Aragon in this same book: the scarcity of documents about the commissioning and execution of the altarpieces.

The lack of documents is the main handicap for other scholars who are working in the same field, like the team of the project “Formación del pintor y práctica de la pintura en los reinos hispanos (1350-1500)” (Universidad Complutense de Madrid). Nevertheless, this project has had interesting results regarding Late Gothic Painting. We can see these in a book dedicated to workshops and painting practices in Spain,<sup>36</sup> and in the international conference “Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano: la capilla fúnebre de Álvaro de Luna en contexto” (2016), where the impressive altarpiece of Santiago from the Luna chapel was re-studied in collaboration with restorers and according to technical methodologies.<sup>37</sup> This type of methodological technical approach dates back many years, and in the case of the Castilian painting, they have made important contributions in the colloquies on the underlying drawing published in Leuven, or in the exhibition held in the Museo Nacional del Prado in 2006.<sup>38</sup>

The Castilian focus is one of the most widely studied by researchers in recent years, as we can see in the bibliography. For instance, in the aforementioned book by Ronda Kasl,<sup>39</sup> or the recent one published by Manuel Parada book about Jan van Eyck’s journey to the Iberian Peninsula,<sup>40</sup> where he puts his diplomatic mission into context with the artistic panorama of the Hispanic Kingdoms, especially Castile. Nevertheless, the most interesting of the book is his approach to the influence of the Iberian Peninsula

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<sup>36</sup> *Ver y crear. Obradores y Mercados Pictóricos en la España Gótica*, ed. by Matilde Miquel, Olga Perez and Miriam Bueso, (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2016).

<sup>37</sup> We are waiting for the appearance of a book with the results of this conference. On this field, see also S. Hodge, M. Spring and R. Marchant, ‘The construction and painting of a large Castilian retable: a study of techniques and workshop practices’, in *Painting Techniques: History, Materials and Studio Practice. Contributions to the Dublin Congress of the International Institute for Conservation*, ed. by A. Roy and P. Smith, (London: International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, 1998), pp. 70-77; Laura Alba Carcelén, Jaime García-Máiquez, María Dolores Gayo García, Maite Jover de Celis and María Pilar Silva Maroto, ‘Las prácticas artísticas de los pintores “hispanoflamencos” en la Corona de Castilla en el siglo XV’, *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, 50 (2014), pp. 122-147.

<sup>38</sup> *El trazo oculto. Dibujos subyacentes en pinturas de los siglos XV y XVI*, ed. by Gabriele Finaldi and Carmen Garrido, (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2006). Among others, see also José María Cabrera Garrido and María del Carmen Garrido Pérez, ‘El dibujo subyacente y otros aspectos técnicos de las tablas del maestro de Sopetrán’, *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, III (1982), pp. 15-31.

<sup>39</sup> Kasl, *The Making*, passim.

<sup>40</sup> Manuel Parada López de Corsellas, *El viaje de Jan van Eyck de Flandes a Granada (1428-1429)*, (Madrid: La Ergástula, 2016).

on van Eyck's paintings, where we find a surprising range of objects, such as ceramics from Manises, Nasrid horse pendants and furniture, etc., that allows us to imagine the fascination experienced by the Duke of Burgundy's painter when he came into contact with these manufactures. Anyway, this is nothing more —and nothing less— than the materialisation of the political exchanges between territories, and the result of the activity of merchants and the importance of trade routes, as we can see in this book in the contribution of Francesca Español regarding the Crown of Aragon.

The example of Van Eyck is an inverted and collateral case to the thesis presented here, because we are talking about the influence of Spanish art and environment on the work of a northern painter, even it was on minor aspects of his painting. It was not superficial, however, in another case of influence of Spanish painting in a Flemish painter. We refer to the Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy and his altarpiece dedicated to Saint Nicholas mainly in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges (one panel is in a private collection). This work was surely done for a Spanish client, and for this reason its typology responds to a model well-known in the Iberian Peninsula since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Further, the enthroned, frontal and hieratic image of Saint Nicholas in the main panel is unique in the Flemish context, which is why we should relate it to a group of Aragonese images created by Bartolomé Bermejo (altarpiece from Sant Domingo de Silos in Daroca, nowadays in the Museo Nacional del Prado) and recreated by painters like Martín Bernat.<sup>41</sup>

In the Hispanic kingdoms, the rise of the aesthetic model spread by the Flemish Primitives was uneven. It was more intense in Castile but also occurred in the Crown of Aragon, although in the latter case, it was far more conditioned by the local pictorial tradition.<sup>42</sup> In some of the analyses in this volume, we shall see precisely this, the varied processes of penetration and assimilation of the new figurative paradigm from the Southern Netherlands. Thus, at a general level, by going in greater depth into the artistic relations established with the lands beyond the Pyrenees, Francesca Español deals with such questions as the import of manufactured artistic products (tapestries, terracotta, glass and metalwork, altarpieces and small-format sculptures, etc.), and evaluates these as materials that influenced the consolidation of the Flemish model in the Crown of

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<sup>41</sup> For all these questions, see Martens, *Peinture flamande*, pp. 116-124.

<sup>42</sup> Francesc Ruiz Quesada, 'Flandes y la pintura en Cataluña, Valencia y Mallorca, a lo largo del siglo XV', *Retrotabulum. Estudis d'art medieval*, 17 (2015), pp. 1-84, available online on <http://www.ruizquesada.com/index.php/es/retrotabulum-eses/182-retrotabulum-n17> (consulted: March 2017).

Aragon.<sup>43</sup> This kind of manufactures has not always been correctly identified in Hispanic historiography, especially when its appearance has occurred in archaeological contexts. We see it, for example, in the case of small devotional pieces made with pipe clay —“pijpaarde”, in Dutch—, such as those found in *Castell Formós* in Balaguer (Lleida), and Barcelona.<sup>44</sup>

The arrival of this type of products was already more or less habitual in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but became more widespread in the following century.<sup>45</sup> It is important to note that the first consulate founded by an Iberian nation in Bruges was that of the Catalans, created in 1330.<sup>46</sup> Some merchants used journeys to Flanders to bring back artwork to embellish private spaces. Others artistic promoters decorated their chapels with imported altarpieces and triptychs that they acquired on the domestic market. And of course, there were others who made a business out of this, managing the import and sales of the works in the main fairs, like the one in Medina del Campo (Valladolid), or from ports on the Cantabrian coast, as did Basque and Burgos merchants. These were both foreign traders, with important colonies in Barcelona or Saragossa, and domestic merchants who travelled to such cities as Bruges, Antwerp and Ghent. In any case, the arrival of these works contributed to the spread of the Flemish artistic model around the Hispanic kingdoms.

As it could not be otherwise, the role of the different Hispanic monarchies in the introduction and consolidation of the Flemish language was fundamental. Different painters from beyond the Pyrenees worked on important works under the orders of Isabella the Catholic. This is the case of Antonio Inglés, Juan de Flandes and Michel Sittow. The queen managed to put together an impressive set of Flemish paintings bequeathed to the Royal Chapel of Granada, where she was buried, that included works

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<sup>43</sup> Relating to Crown of Aragon, see also Francesca Español, ‘La escultura tardogótica en la Corona de Aragón’, in *Actas del Congreso Internacional sobre Gil Siloe y la Escultura de su época*, (Burgos: Institución Fernán González, Academia Burgense de Historia y Bellas Artes, 2001), pp. 287-333. Focused on Catalonia, see Marta Miralpeix, ‘Productes artístics importats de Flandes a la Corona d’Aragó a l’Edat Mitjana’, *Barcelona Quaderns d’Història*, 21 (2014), pp. 199-212.

<sup>44</sup> These pieces from Balaguer and Barcelona have been correctly identified in Alberto Velasco González and Francesc Fité Llevot, ‘Nen Jesús. Taller dels Països Baixos del Sud (Utrecht?)’, in *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d’Urgell*, ed. by Alberto Velasco González, Francesc Fité Llevot et al., (Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera, 2016), pp. 186-190.

<sup>45</sup> See Francesca Español, ‘Artistas y obras entre la Corona de Aragón y el reino de Francia’, in *El intercambio artístico entre los reinos hispanos y los cortes europeas en la Baja Edad Media*, ed. by María Concepción Cosmen Alonso (and others), (León: Universidad de León, 2009), pp. 253-294.

<sup>46</sup> Pablo Desportes Bielsa, ‘El consulado catalán de Brujas (1330-1488)’, *Aragón en la Edad Media*, XIV-XV, 1 (1999), pp. 375-390; Dolors Pifarré Torres, *El comerç internacional de Barcelona i el mar del Nord (Bruges) a final del segle XIV*, (Barcelona: Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 2002).

of Rogier van der Weyden, Hans Memling and Dirk Bouts.<sup>47</sup> That was the last time of splendor of Late Gothic painting prior to the irruption of Renaissance times. This kind of swansong culminated a process that began in the Hispanic kingdoms with the inclination of Alfonso the Magnanimous for Flemish paintings and tapestries.<sup>48</sup> The fast implementation of new Flemish developments in Alfonso's environments contrasts with other Hispanic contexts, like the Kingdom of Navarre, where a painter like Blasco de Grañén, the main representative of International Style in Aragon, was "pintor del señor rey de Navarra" —painter to the king of Navarre— in 1457.<sup>49</sup>

Regarding the process of reception of the art of the Flemish Primitives in the Castilian ambit, we must highlight several recent studies by Didier Martens.<sup>50</sup> He collaborates with this miscellaneous volume with a work where he presents with interesting novelties. The process whereby Castilian painters assimilated and copied Flemish models is a theme that lets us see the formers' degree of originality, and the way that they did these copies. In other words, whether they interpreted the model and modified it, or were more or less faithful to the original depiction. Through these processes, it is also curious to study, as Martens does, which painters and works enjoyed most success in Castilian lands. A paradigmatic case is that of the *Madona Durán* in the Museo Nacional del Prado, a work by Rogier van der Weyden that has surely been in Castile since the 1460s, and numerous copies of which were done by various Castilian masters, some Aragonese and even a Valencian.<sup>51</sup> As Martens states, this was not the only work by Rogier van der Weyden that was copied in Castile, which denotes a certain intensity in the reception of the great Flemish master. One isolated issue that can be taken into account in this context is that of the copies or imitations of Flemish works that Flemish painters active in Castile, such as Juan de Flandes, did by

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<sup>47</sup> Pilar Silva Maroto, 'La colección de pinturas de Isabel la Católica', in *Isabel la Católica. La magnificencia de un reinado*, (Madrid-Valladolid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, Junta de Castilla y León, 2004), pp. 115-126; Silva, 'Las relaciones', pp. 70-71.

<sup>48</sup> Gennaro Toscano, 'Opere fiamminghe nelle collezioni di Alfonso il Magnanimo', in *Le carte aragonesi: atti del Convegno, Ravello, 3-4 ottobre 2002*, (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2004), pp. 165-189.

<sup>49</sup> José Cabezero Astrain, 'Nuevos documentos sobre pintores aragoneses del siglo XV', *Seminario de Arte Aragonés*, VII-IX (1957), p. 76; María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay, *Blasco de Grañén, pintor de retablos (1422-1459)*, (Saragossa: Institución "Fernando el Católico", 2004), p. 258, doc. 83.

<sup>50</sup> Many of the conclusions that he has been reached are grouped in Martens, *Peinture flamande, passim*, where also find interesting new contributions on the relation between Spanish and Flemish painting. See also Didier Martens, 'Los primitivos flamencos y la recepción de sus propuestas en el reino de Castilla', *Boletín de la Institución Fernán González*, 246 (2013), pp. 119-150.

<sup>51</sup> For this question, see Didier Martens, 'Una huella de Rogier van der Weyden en la obra de Bernart d'Aras, <pintor vecino de la ciudad de Huesca>', *Archivo Español de Arte*, LXXXI, 321 (2008), pp. 1-16.

great masters and which were then preserved in Castilian territory, such as the triptych of Miraflores (Rogier van der Weyden) and the copy made by Juan de Flandes *circa* 1496-1500.<sup>52</sup>

At this point, his study links up with the one by Alberto Velasco in this same volume, where we also see that the Rogerian compositions arrived at about the same time in Aragon. In a previous study, Martens demonstrated the arrival of the model of the Madonna Durán to this area,<sup>53</sup> as we can see in the missing central panel of the altarpiece of the church of Pompién (Huesca), by Bernat d'Aras. At this moment, we know that other painters active in Aragon, such as Pere Garcia de Benavarri, used the models of the Flemish painter, as we can see in the Saint Jerome on the altarpiece of San Juan in Lleida (Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, today on deposit in the Museu de Lleida).<sup>54</sup> This example, however, has not been quoted in the catalogue of the exhibition the Museo Nacional del Prado dedicated to Rogier van der Weyden (2015), which was an important step in the knowledge about the arrival of Rogerian paintings and models in the Hispanic kingdoms.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, in his study, Velasco points out that the compositions of Robert Campin seems to have had more success in Aragon.<sup>56</sup> Be that as it may, the question of the adaptation and interpretation of Flemish compositions by the work of Hispanic painters is still a very broad subject.

One of the most interesting aspects to be studied in relation to Castilian painting is the process of "Flemishisation" that certain home-grown painters underwent and that led them to imitate not only the models, but also the style of their Flemish colleagues. Martens analyses this concentrating on Diego de la Cruz, as he did in an earlier article.<sup>57</sup> It was supposed that de la Cruz was a Flemish painter, but recent studies present him as

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<sup>52</sup> Pilar Silva Maroto, 'Juan de Flandes. La aparición de Cristo a la Virgen. Tabla lateral derecha de la copia del Tríptico de Miraflores', in *Rogier van der Weyden*, (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2015), pp. 148-152.

<sup>53</sup> Martens, 'Una huella', p. 1-16. See also Lorne Campbell and José Juan Pérez Preciado, 'Rogier van der Weyden. La Virgen con el Niño llamada *La Madonna Durán*', in *Rogier van der Weyden*, (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2015), pp. 82-87.

<sup>54</sup> Alberto Velasco González, *Fragments d'un passat. Pere Garcia de Benavarri i el retaule de l'església de Sant Joan de Lleida*, (Lleida: Museu de Lleida: diocesà i comarcal, Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2012), pp. 120-122, fig. 37-38.

<sup>55</sup> Lorne Campbell, 'Rogier van der Weyden y los reinos ibéricos', in *Rogier van der Weyden*, (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2015), pp. 33-53.

<sup>56</sup> About de models of Campin adapted by the Catalan and Aragonese painters, see Francesc Ruiz Quesada and Alberto Velasco González, 'El retaule de Peralta de La Sal (Osca), una obra desconeguda de Jaume Ferrer i Pere Garcia de Benavarri', *Retrotabulum*, 7 (2013), pp. 1-38, available online on <http://www.ruizquesada.com/index.php/retrotabulum/90-retrotabulum-7> (consulted: March 2017).

<sup>57</sup> Didier Martens, 'Diego de la Cruz, cuarenta años después de su redescubrimiento: balance de las investigaciones y nuevas propuestas', *Goya*, 283-284 (2001), pp. 208-222.

Castilian. At this point, his analysis has to be linked to the contribution by Pilar Silva Maroto, who states the same. We find a similar point of view in the chapter by Eduardo Carrero, whose text tells us about a work by the Master of Sopetrán, a painter who part of the historiography has considered a Hispanicised Flemish artist, while others see him as a Castilian trained in Flanders.<sup>58</sup> Carrero delves into the study of the triptych that gave the painter his name, from the monastery of Santa Maria de Sopetrán (Guadalajara), nowadays in the Museo Nacional del Prado (the side panels), and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (main compartment, sculpted). The author focuses his attention on one of the lateral compartments, the one where we see a portrayal of the donor, a member of the Mendoza family kneeling before an altar located in the retrochoir of a church. Independently of the stylistic questions, Carrero shows convincingly that this church is not the monastery where the work comes from, in contrast with what some authors had supposed before. Moreover, he presents a clarifying parallel for this composition from a book of hours done in Ghent around 1510-1520, which indicates that both the miniaturist and the painter of Sopetrán based their work on a common model.

Among the works related to Castilian painting in this book there is the one by Pedro Respaldiza, dedicated to the murals in the monastery of San Isidoro del Campo, near Seville, in the southern part of the kingdom. The author concentrates on the paintings done in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, analysing some related to the International Gothic Style, then moving on to others done in a Late Gothic key. The Italian connections of the former are very evident, while the latter, in the so-called “cloister of the dead”, the refectory and the chapterhouse—in this case with an interesting cycle dedicated to Saint Jerome—are clearly of Flemish descent. The studies dedicated to Castilian painting end with a piece by Isidre Puig and Marc Ballesté about a work by the Master of Portillo in private hands. The authors study the painting through a detailed formal analysis and comparing it with other works by the master, who the historiography has considered one of Berruguete’s followers in the area of Ávila and Valladolid, where he worked in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

If we move on to the Crown of Aragon, the first that should be noted is that in recent times, there have been interesting scientific initiatives that have contributed to

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<sup>58</sup> José María Cabrera Garrido and María del Carmen Garrido Pérez, ‘El dibujo subyacente y otros aspectos técnicos de las tablas del maestro de Sopetrán’, *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, III (1982), pp. 15-31. See also Silva, ‘Las relaciones’, p. 69.

better knowledge of the theme. Outstanding among these is the *catalogue raisonné* of Gothic painting in Catalonia published in 1986 by Josep Gudiol and Santiago Alcolea,<sup>59</sup> the follow-on from a similar earlier work by Gudiol dedicated to Aragonese painting.<sup>60</sup> This is a valuable and very useful tool for researchers, as, apart from a classification by authors and a presentation all the documentary and bibliographic information published until then, it is designed to be a comprehensive catalogue of known or preserved works. It has served as the basis for many researchers who, over recent years, have revised, extended and improved the contribution by the original authors. The results have been partially used in a ten-volume work dedicated to Gothic art in Catalonia, one of which deals exclusively with painting from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>61</sup> There we find the names of the main authors who wrote in recent years about Catalan Late Gothic Painting, including Francesc Ruiz Quesada, Joan Sureda or Joan Molina, among others.

The academic production on Catalan painting from late Gothic period illustrates a reality shared with the other territories of the Crown of Aragon: the great wealth of the notarial and ecclesiastic archives. This has allowed a very large number of works to be documented, and from the late nineteenth century, steady progress has been made in establishing authorship, the development of commissions or knowledge of the promoters of works. Yet, the interest that Gothic painting has generated among Catalan collectors and antique dealers led to a phenomenon of dispersion that can be extrapolated to the rest of Spain, and that has led to many of the surviving sets being scattered around various museums and collections both at home and abroad.<sup>62</sup> In turn, the systematic burning of churches during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 also caused irreparable losses, which again further impedes us from being able to approach the reality of the issue fully.

In this volume, the panorama of the Catalan Late Gothic is outlined in the contributions by two authors. As we said, the first one by the late Joaquín Yarza (†2016) heads the book as an *avant-propos*, honouring us with a text that will help the readers to initiate their reading in the best possible way. This text, as its title states, is made up of notes and suggestions about certain aspects related to artistic promotion, the

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<sup>59</sup> Josep Gudiol Ricart and Santiago Alcolea Blanch, *Pintura Gòtica Catalana*, (Barcelona: Ed. Polígrafa, 1986).

<sup>60</sup> José Gudiol Ricart, *Pintura Medieval en Aragón*, (Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1971).

<sup>61</sup> *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura III. Darreres manifestacions*, (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006).

<sup>62</sup> Alberto Velasco González, 'L'exposició retrospectiva de Barcelona de 1867 i els inicis del col·leccionisme de pintura gòtica a Catalunya', *Lambard. Estudis d'art medieval*, XXII (2012), pp. 9-65.



structure of the altarpieces, or the production of great masters like Jaume Huguet. It analyses the painting done in large urban centres like Barcelona, although Yarla does not forget the altarpieces by much more modest painters in regions like the Pyrenees or on the borders between Aragon and Catalonia. This is the type of painting that Albert Sierra studies in his contribution, which deals with mural painting in the Arán Valley (Lleida) at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the following century. These sets range from the last Gothic proposals and the first ones of the 1500s, so some of them contain elements in the classical style. This kind of painting also illustrates a typical phenomenon in the Pyrenees, where the Late Gothic Style survived well into the 16<sup>th</sup> century and coexisting with the novelties brought by the Renaissance.<sup>63</sup>

The studies by Gabriel Llompart are essential reading for Majorca, especially his four-volume study of Majorcan Gothic painting.<sup>64</sup> That was a fundamental step forward methodologically in its time, given that he was one of the first Spanish authors to approach the study of the works going beyond the traditional threshold of authorship and the documents —although his work contain abundant previously unpublished documentary data in the appendix. A simple skim through the index of the mentioned work shows the extent to which it was novel in its order and thematic development, and if we delve into its pages, we will see that the analysis goes in depth into the field of iconography, popular piety and liturgy. Painters such as Pere Nisart, Alonso de Sedano or Pere Terrencs are nowadays well known thanks to his contributions. Tina Sabater has taken up where Llompart left off, and in recent years, she has studied in depth Majorcan painting of the International Gothic Style and Late Gothic period, reviewing Post and Llompart, and making new proposals.<sup>65</sup> In this volume, Sabater contributes a text that clearly situates the coordinates of the Late Gothic painting in Majorca. Leaving its peculiar development very clear, as despite certain exceptions like Joan Rosat or Rafel Mòger, it seems that the Flemish style did not become generalised until much later than in the other territories of the Crown of Aragon.

Regarding Valencia, it must be stated that the study of the Late Gothic painting produced in that territory has a long pedigree dating from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> For this question, see Alberto Velasco Gonzàlez, *Devocions pintades. Retaules de les Valls d'Àneu (segles XV i XVI)*, (Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2012); Joan Bosch Ballbona i Francesc Miralpeix Vilamala, *L'art de l'època moderna a Andorra. Segles XVI-XVIII*, (Andorra: Govern d'Andorra, 2017).

<sup>64</sup> Gabriel Llompart, *La pintura medieval mallorquina. Su entorno cultural y su iconografía*, 4 vols. (Palma: Luís Ripoll, 1978-1980).

<sup>65</sup> See, for example, Tina Sabater, *La Pintura mallorquina del segle XV*, (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2002).

century, with such authors as José Luis Tramoyeres, José Sanchís Sivera, Chandler Rathfon Post, Leandro de Saralegui and Luis Cerveró Gomis, among others. These authors again set their sights on the publication of documents and the classification by authorship, a historiographic tendency that has dominated the specialists who have focussed their attention on this territory. In any case, we can state that the Valencian painting from late Gothic times is among the best known in the Hispanic context, especially given the wealth of its archives, which have preserved innumerable contracts and documents about altarpieces, and for having preserved until our times numerous works that have allowed solid progress in the discipline. Among the many authors who have contributed to a greater knowledge of Flemish influenced painting in recent years, special mention must be made of the late Fernando Benito (†2011), especially for his time as the head of the Museu de Belles Arts de Valencia (1996-2011), during which he organised —with José Gómez Frechina— various exhibitions that contributed to scientific progress in the discipline.<sup>66</sup> And also Ximo Company,<sup>67</sup> another of those who have collaborated in this volume, who presents us with a general panorama that includes the always intense stylistic debates, with such long-lasting controversies as the one that surrounds Jacomart, Joan Reixac, the Maestro de la Porciúncula and the Maestro de Bonastre. He also analyses the personality of the Flemish Lluís Alincbrot, whose move to Valencia perhaps favoured the early development of the northern style, and also that of Lluís Dalmau, one of the key artists for understanding the phenomenon.

Dalmau was born and raised in Valencia, and for sure, was trained in the tradition of the International Style. As mentioned above, he was sent to Flanders by the king almost certainly to learn the language of the Van Eycks, and finally settled in Barcelona, where he did one of the fundamental works of Late Gothic art in the Iberian Peninsula, the Virgin of the *Consellers*, a painting that shows an important influence of Jan van Eyck works.<sup>68</sup> This altarpiece is only one of many links between Catalonia and

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<sup>66</sup> The most prominent is *La Clave Flamenca en los Primitivos Valencianos*, ed. by Fernando Benito Doménech and José Gómez Frechina, (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2001).

<sup>67</sup> Outstanding among his many studies is Ximo Company, 'La pintura valenciana de Jacomart a Pau de Sant Leocadi. El corrent Hispanoflamenc i els inicis del Renaixement', 3 vols. (unpublished Ph. D., Universitat de Barcelona, 1986); Ximo Company, *La pintura hispanoflamenca*, (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, Institució Valenciana d'Estudis i Investigació, 1990); Ximo Company, 'El flamenquisme al País Valencià i Lluís Dalmau', in *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura III. Darreres manifestacions*, (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006), pp. 68-85.

<sup>68</sup> Numerous studies have been done of this work, one of the few known in the international historiography since long ago. Among these we highlight Molina, *Arte, devotion y poder*, pp. 173-228; Francesc Ruiz Quesada, 'Apropament a la simbologia del retaule de la Mare de Déu dels Consellers', *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, 5 (2001), pp. 27-46; Francesc Ruiz Quesada, 'Lluís

Valencia in questions of artistic relations during the late Gothic period. For instance, in the same context, we must situate the stay by Jaume Huguet in Valencia (1445), the training of Jaume Vergós II with Jacomart (1448) in the same city —the latter, a painter who knew the art of Jan van Eyck—, or the Miquel Nadal's move to Barcelona to take charge of Bernat Martorell's workshop.<sup>69</sup> Dalmau was one of the most important protagonists of these exchanges between territories, and we should ask ourselves how his art changed after his stay in Flanders. When he returned from there, he painted a keystone with the image of Saint Michael for a tent of King Alfonso the Magnanimous (1439).<sup>70</sup> We do not know its appearance, but it is interesting to suppose that it was full of references to van Eyck's art.<sup>71</sup> However, the Valencian panorama and the relations with the Flemish *ars nova* show that the city of Valencia played an important role in the consolidation of the new language.<sup>72</sup> This could explain why Dalmau came to Barcelona and was designated to paint the Virgin of the *Consellers*.

This Eyckian fervour in Valencia around 1440-1450 serves as an explanation for the arrival of painters like Lluís Alincbrot, recently blurred by Susie Nash.<sup>73</sup> The attribution of the triptych with scenes from the life of Christ, today in the Museo Nacional del Prado —with its origin in a convent in Valencia—, to this painter enabled works such as a Descent from the Cross in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya,<sup>74</sup> or a Crucifixion in the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza in Madrid,<sup>75</sup> to be related to the Valencian area and, perhaps, to Flemish painters who worked in this region or Valencian masters deeply influenced by Jan van Eyck's style. To this group of works we can add a high quality Saint Dimas that was in Madrid antiques market (Caylus)

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Dalmau', *L'art gòtic a Catalunya. Pintura III. Darreres manifestacions*, (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006), pp. 51-67.

<sup>69</sup> Francesc Ruiz Quesada, 'Del internacional al *ars nova*. Flandes y la pintura del arco mediterráneo de la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XV', in *Aragón y Flandes. Un encuentro artístico (siglos XV-XVII)*, (Saragossa: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2015), p. 85; Ruiz, 'Flandes', pp. 1-84.

<sup>70</sup> Joan Aliaga Morell, *Els Peris i la pintura valenciana medieval*, (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1996), doc. 67.

<sup>71</sup> Montero, 'Una myga ymatge', p. 9.

<sup>72</sup> José Gómez Frechina, 'La estética flamenca en la pintura valenciana: testimonios, influencias y protagonistas', in *A la búsqueda del Toisón de Oro, la Europa de los príncipes, la Europa de las ciudades*, ed. by Eduardo Mira and An Delva, (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2007), vol. I, pp. 381-405.

<sup>73</sup> Susie Nash, 'The Myth of Louis Alincbrot: relocating the *Triptych with Scenes from the Life of Christ* in the Prado', *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, XXXII, 50 (2014), pp. 70-95.

<sup>74</sup> Mauro Natale and Frédéric Elsig, 'Pintor activo en Valencia (c. 1450-1460). Descendimiento', in *El Renacimiento Mediterráneo. Viajes de artistas e itinerarios de obras entre Italia, Francia y España en el siglo XV*, (Madrid: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2001), pp. 291-293.

<sup>75</sup> Mauro Natale and Frédéric Elsig, 'Pintor valenciano. Crucifixion, c. 1450-1460', in *El Renacimiento Mediterráneo. Viajes de artistas e itinerarios de obras entre Italia, Francia y España en el siglo XV*, (Madrid: Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2001), pp. 294-297.

several years ago, and today is in the Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen. This little painting has the same style and marbled decoration on the back as the Descent in Barcelona, and perhaps this could indicate they were both from the same altarpiece.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, Susie Nash's attribution of the Prado triptych to the Collins Master makes a complete revision of all these paintings necessary, because it is possible that one of these three works in Barcelona, Madrid and Copenhagen could be attributed to Luis Alincbrot. This set of works, with an early chronology, show a strong Eyckian influence that leads us to think about a foreign painter—or painters—established in Valencia.

All this allows us to introduce another question widely developed in the historiography, the controversial journey of Jan van Eyck to the Crown of Aragon in 1427, and in particular, in Valencia. As we saw before, it is certain that he passed through Portugal and Castile, and he may even have seen the Alhambra in Granada. However, nowadays researchers are increasingly questioning his possible journey through cities like Valencia or Barcelona.<sup>77</sup> In any case, the influence of Jan van Eyck on Valencian painting is not only certified by several compositions of painters like the Master of Bonastre or the Master of the Porciúncula, but also by the presence of several of his works in Valencia identified in the documents with the sentence “de la mà de Johannes” —by the hand of Johannes.<sup>78</sup> Some of them passed through the hands of the cleric Andreu Garcia, who has gradually become one of the key characters in the context of the arrival of the northern language in Valencia. He is somebody who appears related to such artists as Simó Llobregat, Jaume Mateu, Gonçal Sarrià and, above all, Joan Reixac, whose 1448 will said that a Stigmatisation of Saint Francis that he owned was to go to Garcia. According to the document, it was a work by Jan van Eyck. Garcia owned another work by the Flemish master, and thanks to other

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<sup>76</sup> Francesc Ruiz Quesada, ‘Lluís Dalmau y la influencia del realismo flamenco en Cataluña’, in *La pintura gótica durante el siglo XV en tierras de Aragón y en otros territorios peninsulares*, ed. by María del Carmen Lacarra, (Saragossa: Institución ‘Fernando el Católico’, 2007), pp. 267-268, fig. 23.

<sup>77</sup> The bibliography on this question is extensive. See, among others, César Pemán y Pemartín, *Juan van Eyck y España*. (Cádiz: Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes de Cádiz, 1969), pp. 29-52; Rafael Cornudella, ‘Alfonso el Magnánimo y Jan van Eyck. Pintura y tapices flamencos en la corte del rey de Aragón’, *Locus Amoenus*, 10 (2009-2010), pp. 39-62; Bart Fransen, ‘Jan van Eyck y España. Un viaje y una obra’, *Anales de Historia del Arte*, 22 (2012), pp. 39-58; Bart Fransen, ‘Jan van Eyck, “el gran pintor del ilustre duque de Borgoña”. Su viaje a la Península y la Fuente de la Vida’, in *De Van Eyck a Rubens. La senda española de los artistas flamencos en el Museo del Prado*, (Madrid: Fundación de los Amigos del Museo del Prado, 2009), pp. 105-125; Susan Frances Jones, ‘Jan van Eyck and Spain’, *Boletín del Museo del Prado*, 50 (2014), pp. 30-49; Encarna Montero Tortajada, ‘Una myga ymatge en paper, de ploma, de mà de Johannes. La fugitiva sombra de Van Eyck en la Corona de Aragón a mediados del siglo XV’, *Archivo Español de Arte*, 353 (2016), p. 1-14; Parada, *El viaje, passim*.

<sup>78</sup> Montero, ‘Una myga ymatge’, pp. 1-14.

references, it seems he played a role in the revitalisation of Valencian artistic context around 1450 and in the consolidation of the northern language.<sup>79</sup> In short, all these documentary references are from the 1440s and 1450s, and they place us —again— in the context of the arrival of the Flemish novelties in the Iberian Peninsula. Given all this, along with other issues, Valencia was a particularly important place in the consolidation of the Late Gothic language, standing out above the rest of the Hispanic kingdoms.

As we can see in Ximo Company's chapter, anonymous painters such as the aforementioned Master of Bonastre and the Master of the Porciúncula must be situated in the middle of the debate about the reception of Jan van Eyck's proposals in Valencia. In recent years, interesting contributions have been published about that question, and several authors have speculated with the possible identification with the unknown Jacomart.<sup>80</sup> The latter was working for Alfonso the Magnanimous in Naples, after the conquest of this kingdom in 1442. As mentioned above, the king felt a special attachment to Flemish art, and the artists from the Crown of Aragon who went to the court of Naples to work for the monarch, like Jacomart, came into contact with paintings of Roger van der Weyden or Jan van Eyck which were owned by the king, as Gennaro Toscano said in his conference about the relations between the Crown of Aragon and Italy at the meeting that originates this publication.<sup>81</sup>

It is sure that Jacomart saw these paintings in Naples. Unfortunately, we are not sure about Jacomart's style, because no documented works by him are known. In spite of this, theories about his identification with the Master of Bonastre or the Master of the

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<sup>79</sup> Encarna Montero Tortajada, 'The Oligarch and the Paintbrushes: a Biographical Sketch of Andreu Garcia, Priest', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie VII. Historia del Arte*, 1 (2013), pp. 25-43. See also Josep Ferre Puerto, 'Trajectòria vital de Joan Reixac, pintor valencià del quatre-cents: La seua relació amb Andreu Garcia', in *L'Artista-artesa medieval a la Corona d'Aragó. Actes. Lleida 14, 15 i 16 de gener de 1998*, ed. by Joaquín Yarza Luaces and Francesc Fité Llevot, (Lleida: Universitat de Lleida, Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1999), pp. 419-426.

<sup>80</sup> José Gómez Frechina, 'San Francisco recibiendo los estigmas. Maestro de la Porciúncula', in *La Clave Flamenca en los Primitivos Valencianos*, ed. by Fernando Benito Doménech and José Gómez Frechina, (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2001), pp. 118-123; Mercedes Gómez Ferrer, 'Jacomart: revisión de un problema historiográfico', in *De pintura valenciana (1400-1600). Estudios y documentación*, ed. by Lorenzo Hernández Guardiola, (Alicante: Instituto Alicantino de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 2006), pp. 71-99; Francesc Ruiz Quesada and David Montolí Torán, 'De pintura medieval valenciana', in *Espais de Llum, (Borriana, Vila-Real, Castelló, 2008-2009)*, (Valencia: La Llum de les Imatges, 2008), pp. 154-157; Rafael Cornudella, 'El Mestre de la Porciúncula i la pintura valenciana del seu temps', *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, 9 (2008), pp. 83-111; Rafael Cornudella, '«Mestre Johannes, lo gren pintor del illustre duch de Burgunya»: la risposta valenzana in altri territorio della Corona d'Aragona, in *Nord/Sud. Presenze e ricezioni fiamminghe in Liguria, Veneto e Sardegna*, (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2007), pp. 19-32.

<sup>81</sup> With the title "El sur de Italia y la Corona de Aragón a la luz del último gótico". The author has been unable to deliver his text for publication.

Porciúncula are especially suggestive in this context of Eyckian influences, because both were great painters worthy of working for a king. Recently, Rafael Cornudella has drawn attention to a missing work that had gone unnoticed by the historiography.<sup>82</sup> It is a portrait of Alfonso the Magnanimous formerly preserved in Valencia City Council, and its style is very close to that of the Master of Bonastre. For this reason, as Cornudella said, it is possible that it was by Jacomart, a painter who travelled to Naples and worked for the king. This new proposal must be analysed beside another recent one about Jacomart. A very interesting painting entered the Museo Nacional del Prado (inv. P08202) in 2015. It shows Saint James with a donor and it was studied by Pilar Silva Maroto, that proposed attributing it to him.<sup>83</sup> It is obvious that its style is very different from the portrait of Alfonso the Magnanimous published by Cornudella. The debate on the painter, therefore, remains open.

The Crown of Aragon maintained important political relations with Italy throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and this was reflected in the artistic field. These links intensified with the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples by Alfonso the Magnanimous in 1442, just as the Late Gothic language was being implanted with force in the different kingdoms that made up the Crown. As we have seen, we have enough data and paintings to allow us to evaluate the degree of influence of the Flemish language in those years, but, on the other hand, it is not the same as the possible influence in the Crown of Aragon of the art that was being developed at the time in the northern Italian republics. For instance, the case of Alfonso Rodríguez —also known as Alfonso de Córdoba—, a painter and miniaturist who worked during the 1550s in Ferrara for Borso d'Este and in Naples for Alfonso the Magnanimous, is little known. The artistic transfers between Italy and the Crown of Aragon favoured this artist moving to Barcelona, where he appeared during the 1460s working for the Constable, Pedro of Portugal, king of the Catalans between 1464 and 1466. The Constable held him in very good consideration —he called him “pictor noster nobis ob suum acutissimum ingenium plurimum dilectus”— and protected him on different occasions. Also, Alfonso was working for king Juan II of Aragon (1458-1479), successor to Alfonso the

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<sup>82</sup> Rafael Cornudella, ‘Un ritratto scomparso di Alfonso il Magnanimo, l’influenza eyckiana a Valencia e l’enigma Jacomart’, in *Uno sguardo verso nord. Scritti in onore di Caterina Virdis Limentani*, ed. by Mari Pietrogiovanna and Chiara Ceschi, (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2016), pp. 123-132.

<sup>83</sup> Pilar Silva Maroto, ‘Santiago Apóstol entronizado con donante, h. 1450’, in *Museo Nacional del Prado. Memoria de actividades 2015*, (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2016), pp. 116-118 (available online).

Magnanimous, and was active in the Barcelona area until 1473.<sup>84</sup> We do not have a single work of Alfonso de Córdoba, and therefore, we do not know anything about his style, and whether it was related to the Flemish or Florentine language.

Also, according to the documents, the presence of Italian painters in the Crown of Aragon during the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was very scarce. It is known that during the 1430s, some Italian painters, like Ambrogio Salarii and Dello Delli, maintained financial and professional relations with Catalan artists like Bernat Martorell, but this type of reference is almost nonexistent for later moments. This puts an issue on the table on which there is a very serious lack of knowledge, that of the penetration of the Italian Renaissance forms that originated with the revolution in the Italian republics. The most evident influences were in the sphere of sculpture following the work in Barcelona of some Tuscan sculptors partially related to the forms of the International Style.<sup>85</sup> On the other hand, the echo of the “all’antico” language in Catalan painting was non-existent in those years. Even in those cases of the movement of Italian artists, —such as the arrival of Paolo da San Leocadio and Francisco Pagano to work on the cathedral of Valencia under the protection of Cardinal Rodrigo de Borja (the future Pope Alexander VI)—,<sup>86</sup> we can see that the Renaissance novelties did not take shape and were not adopted immediately by the native painters.

Among the studies in this book that tell us about the arrival of the first Italian influences, we must highlight the joint contribution by Nicola Jennings and Isidre Puig, an in-depth study of a work by the Master of Artés, one of those anonymous masters from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century that help us to understand how Valencia opened up to the changes coming from Italy. Similarly, a third study, again by Company in collaboration with other scholars from the CIMM (Centre for Medieval and Modern Research at the Universitat Politècnica de València), presents some results from different research projects and the arduous task of research carried out in the Valencian archives from this

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<sup>84</sup> Joan Molina Figueras, ‘Las rutas mediterráneas de Alfonso Rodríguez, pintor y miniaturista de corte’, in *Imágenes y promotores en el arte medieval. Miscelánea en homenaje a Joaquín Yarza Luaces*, ed. by M. Luisa Melero, Francesca Español, Anna Orriols i Daniel Rico (eds.), (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2001), pp. 519-529.

<sup>85</sup> Joan Valero Molina, ‘Presencia y actividad de escultores italianos en la Barcelona del siglo XV’, in *Models, intercanvis i recepció artística (de les rutes marítimes a la navegació en xarxa). XV Congrés Nacional d’Història de l’Art*, (Palma: Universitat de les Illes Balears, 2008), vol. I, pp. 197-207.

<sup>86</sup> Adele Condorelli, ‘La leyenda de «mestre» Riquart y de Riccardo Quartararo’, *Archivo Español de Arte*, 295 (2001), pp. 285-191; Ximo Company Climent, *Paolo da San Leocadio i els inicis de la pintura del Renaixement a Espanya*, (Gandia: CEIC Alfons el Vell, 2006).

centre. It includes new documentary evidence about such painters as Jacomart and Joan Reixach, among others.

At the time, one of the ties that the historiography established as links between painting in Aragon and Catalonia was the presence in Aragon of the young Jaume Huguet, the leading figure of the Catalan Late Gothic and one of the few to cross borders, this said in a very restrained way. Yet, today this is a proposal discarded by most specialists. In contrast, new documents published a few years ago by Josep Ferre Puerto, have shown that Huguet was in Valencia around 1445,<sup>87</sup> which has marked a notable turn in our knowledge of his early period. What happened to the Aragonese works that had previously been related to the young Huguet? Some of them have been attributed to Arnau de Castellnou de Navailles (de Noialles?), an as yet very unknown painter who promises to become one of the key figures of the Aragonese Late Gothic painting. One of these works is the famous panel of Saint George and the Princess in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, about which reams have been written in recent years, including a monograph and a thesis.<sup>88</sup>

Aragonese Late Gothic painting is a field of research on which significant light has been shed in recent years, especially since the works by María del Carmen Lacarra, who has dedicated important studies to such painters as Martín de Soria, Tomás Giner, Juan de la Abadía, Martín Bernat and Miguel Ximénez. These have laid the foundations on which future research in greater depth will take place, similar to the above-mentioned works by Molina and Deurbergue for Catalonia and Valencia. Some progress is seen in Velasco's work, which highlights the role of Archbishop Dalmau de Mur in hosting and spreading the Flemish model in the 1440s and 1450s. His study also marks out another of the key centres for the assimilation of northern models in Aragon, which he places among the followers of Blasco de Grañén, the last of the territory's great International Gothic Style painters. And this combines with two issues that again strike us as critical, namely the arrival of Flemish paintings, sculptures and manufactured goods, and the rapid spread of the engravings by artists like Martin Schongauer, thanks to Saragossa was one of the first cities where German printers settled. The prints by this

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<sup>87</sup> Josep Ferre Puerto, 'Presència de Jaume Huguet a València. Novetats sobre la formació artística del pintor', *Ars Longa*, 12 (2003), pp. 27-32.

<sup>88</sup> Rosa Alcoy, *San Jorge y la princesa. Diálogos de la pintura del siglo XV en Cataluña y Aragón*, (Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2004); Guadaira Macías Prieto, *La pintura aragonesa de la segona meitat del segle XV relacionada amb l'escola catalana: dues vies creatives a examen*, (Ph. D., Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2014).



artist contributed to bolstering the compositional repertoires of the Aragonese painters during the German master's own lifetime, specifically from 1478 on, starting from the oldest known coincidence between an Aragonese painting and an engraving by Schongauer.

The founding act for the Late Gothic style in Aragon could be the contract that Pere Joan signed for the altarpiece of the chapel of the city council in Saragossa. It was in 1443, exactly the same time that the *consellers* were negotiating with Lluís Dalmau to paint his famous virgin. In different points in the document, the painter is required to carry out his work “en molt nova manera”, that is, in a very new way. The contract is also interesting because it shows us that Pere Joan was asked to paint an altarpiece combining two techniques, painting and sculpture, and which had doors decorated with grisailles. This is the first time that grisailles are documented in the Iberian Peninsula and the appearance of the ensemble, therefore, must be fully Flemish. Unfortunately, we do not have this foundational work, but it is an example of the links between Catalonia and Aragon, because the project of the *jurados* in Saragossa was surely an immediate consequence of the one promoted by the *consellers* in Barcelona.<sup>89</sup>

Aragon opened itself to the Flemish model in a different way than Catalonia, Valencia and Majorca, similar to what happened in Castile, fully accepting the proposals by the Flemish masters. That is why Bartolomé Bermejo was very successful in Daroca and Saragossa, despite the threats of excommunication that appear in some of the contracts he signed. In this study, Fernando Marías delves into this latter question and places the debate in a narrower context, concluding that Bermejo was surely a converted Jew.<sup>90</sup> Judith Berg Sobre, meanwhile, takes up the same theme and others

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<sup>89</sup> For all questions related to the altarpiece of Pere Joan in the chapel of the city council in Saragossa, see Alberto Velasco González, ‘<Para que sus deliberaciones y consejos no vayan herrados sino acertados>. Gonzalo de la Caballería y el retablo de la capilla del Concejo de Zaragoza (1443)’, *Tvriaso*, XXII (2014-2015), pp. 295-340.

<sup>90</sup> Regarding Bermejo, apart from the exhibition dedicated to him in 2003 in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya and the Museo de Bellas Artes in Bilbao (*La pintura gòtica hispanoflamenca. Bartolomé Bermejo i la seva època*, dir. by Francesc Ruiz Quesada and Ana Galilea Antón [Barcelona-Bilbao: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2003]), Francesc Ruiz Quesada has recently dedicated some works to him that approach the painter from various perspectives. See Francesc Ruiz Quesada, ‘La incidencia de las fuentes escritas en la iconografía del retablo de Santo Domingo de Silos, de Bartolomé Bermejo’, *Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi*, 23-24 (2009), pp. 33-53; Francesc Ruiz Quesada, ‘De Acqui Terme a la Piedad Desplà. Textos e iconografías inéditos de Bartolomé Bermejo’, *Retrotabulum. Estudis d'art medieval*, 1 (2012), pp. 2-51; Francesc Ruiz Quesada, ‘Entre l'Hermon i la muntanya santa del salmista. Lluís Desplà a la Pietat de Bartolomé Bermejo’, *Retrotabulum. Estudis d'art medieval*, 2 (2012), pp. 2-52; Francesc Ruiz Quesada, ‘La alteridad velada, o la mirada del alma, en la obra de Bartolomé Bermejo’, *Retrotabulum. Estudis d'art medieval*, 4 (2012), pp. 2-55. The articles in the journal

from previous works about the great painter, supposedly from Cordoba.<sup>91</sup> She contributes to a new view by analysing different stages in Bermejo's output, and enriches the debate by interpreting the new proposals about the painter that have appeared in recent years, some of them relating to workshop practices.<sup>92</sup>

Works by Montserrat Jardí and Carmen Berlabé complete the overview of Aragon. The former analyses the figure of Juan de la Abadía el Viejo. This painter was in need of a study to establish a more reasonable catalogue of works than up to now, given that works attributed to him are stylistically rather disparate. Jardí goes into his career in detail from a work in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, a Saint John the Baptist whose origins were previously unknown and that the author supposes to have been for the church of San Pedro el Viejo in Huesca. The study by Carmen Berlabé presents a different approach to the others in this volume. It is a study of the sale of a series of late Gothic paintings from the monastery of Sijena (Huesca), on the borders between Aragon and Catalonia, during the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This is an interesting contribution, dealing as it does with the positive valuation of Gothic painting among museologists, antique dealers and collectors, as well as helping to complete the pedigree of a series of works nowadays in various museums in Catalonia and Aragon.

All the above shows the great efforts made by the researchers who took part in the scientific meeting that is the origin of this publication, efforts that have been rewarded by interesting scientific results that will undoubtedly contribute to greater understanding and knowledge of the subject under study. It is only fair to acknowledge their good work and their patience at the delay in publishing their contributions. Finally, and as always happens with this kind of publication, the reader will find a lack of some themes, or a deeper analysis of certain questions. We apologize to them in advance, although it must be recognised that one of the main objectives has been met, and that these were none other than to offer the specialist reader a volume of studies that make up an overview.

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*Retrotabulum* can be consulted on-line at <http://www.ruizquesada.com/index.php/ca/retrotabulum> (consulted: March 2017). We can add the monography, *Pietat Desplà. El procés de restauració de l'obra mestra de Bartolomé Bermejo*, (Barcelona: Fundació Banc Sabadell, 2017), recently published coinciding with the restoration of the Desplà *Pietà*.

<sup>91</sup> Doubt about the painter's Andalusian origins origin has been expressed by Fernando Marías, 'Bartolomé Bermejo ¿Cordubensis?', *Ars longa*, 21 (2012), pp. 135-142.

<sup>92</sup> Dolores Gayo, Maite Jover and Laura Alba, 'The altarpiece of Saint Dominic of Silos by Bartolome Bermejo: an example of painting practices during the early Spanish Renaissance', in *The Renaissance Workshop: The Materials and Techniques of Renaissance Art*, ed. by David Saunders, Marika Spring and Andrew Meek, (London: Archetype in association with the British Museum), 2013, pp. 71-78.